1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

oned without trial, and their property was confiscated.[55] With some 200 Chungking men out of the way, General Sheng, according to one report, "asked Generalissimo Stalin to incorporate Sinkiang into the Soviet Union. The Russian leader, who evidently had had quite enough by this time, refused. Chungking also had had enough, and decided to remove General Sheng by a delicate operation."[56] 175*

General Chu Shao-liang was again sent to Urumchi, and persuaded Sheng Shih-ts'ai to leave Sinkiang and accept the post of Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in Chungking. (Under the Kuomintang, this Ministry had become a sinecure for men out of power, because of its inability to do anything challenging the interests of the landlords who had increasingly gained control over the Kuomintang.) On September 2, 1944, the provincial *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* published the news that Sheng had been transferred to Chungking, and on September 11 he departed from Urumchi airfield. His reign was over.

Breakdown of Chinese Frontier Policy

Yang Tseng-hsin, Chin Shu-jen, and Sheng Shih-ts'ai had one after another established themselves as the rulers of Sinkiang, and had then been "recognized" by the National Government. After the deposition of Sheng, on the other hand, the National Government was able to name four men in succession as its own appointees to the post of Chairman of the Provincial Government. These men were Wu Chung-hsin, Chang Chih-chung, Masud Sabri and Burkhan. The constrast shows that since 1944 Sinkiang has once more come within the orbit of Chinese national politics. 175* 635

After the surrender of Japan in 1945 the C.C. Clique and the Political Science Group became the main sources of Chinese national policy in Sinkiang. The C.C. Clique — the "Tammany" of 175* 665

[55] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Tides of the Dry Sea*, or *Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January, 1947, p. 19; also Shanghai edition of the same date, p. 21 (in Chinese).

[56] Dispatch from Christopher Rand, dated Urumchi September 22, 1947, in *New York Herald Tribune*, September 23, 1947.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

deputies. Wang Tseng-shan, Civil Affairs Commissioner; Chao Chien-feng, Social Welfare Commissioner, and Fu Chien-chi, Vice-Commissioner of Reconstruction, were all active C.C. Clique members.

With this mixed team, General Chang made a real effort to improve government, at least in Urumchi. A basic law for the province, in ten articles, was immediately adopted. Under this law officials were forbidden to engage in trade, and private banks were encouraged to increase production. Requisitions were limited and tax reduction was provided for, at least as a hope. All district councils and magistrates were to be elected within three months.[74] To implement this law, the government ordered the liquidation of the provincial trading corporation which had been set up by Sheng Shih-ts'ai.[75] (General Chang ordered 25,000 Chinese ounces of opium to be burned in front of his headquarters.) To reduce the danger of riots, intermarriage between Moslems and non-Moslems was forbidden. Taxes in arrears were canceled, and a reduction of taxes was promised for 1947.[76] To cover the budget deficit, General Chang went to Nanking to ask for an annual subsidy of $165,000,000 in Chinese dollars.[77]

More than a hundred Chinese Communists who had been put in prison by Sheng Shih-ts'ai (many of them being men who had worked for him in his reform period), were released by Chang Chih-chung and sent to Yenan in a special convoy of trucks.[78] In taking this step, he was following consistently the line which for some years had marked him as a moderate man who favored compromise. Certainly General Chang was sincere in his efforts to reach a workable compromise in Sinkiang. In a speech at Urumchi on May 13, 1947, for instance, he said, "Whenever I

[74] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Urumchi, January 1947, pp. 9–11 (in Chinese).

[75] *Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai edition, August 13, 1946 (in Chinese).

[76] Details of sixteen tax reductions were published as an official announcement in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, January 12, 1947 (in Chinese).

[77] Same publication, April 11, 1947.

[78] *Han Hai Ch'ao* (*Desert Tides*), Shanghai edition, January 1947 (in Chinese).

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 497 In addition to other minor demands, General Chang wanted the assent of the Sinkiang nationalist leaders to the building of a railway into Sinkiang. From the government point of view, this was a reasonable project for the linking of a frontier province to the main body of China. From the point of view of the non-Chinese peoples of Sinkiang, railway communication meant the danger of being submerged by a flood of Chinese colonists.

*175 436 General Chang's final demand was that Sinkiang give up its separate provincial currency and adopt that of the National Government. From the Chinese point of view, this was a rational demand. From the Sinkiang point of view, it carried with it the danger that the wealth of Sinkiang would be freely pumped into China, without a compensating flow back from China into Sinkiang.[87]

*175 ●635 Before the deadlock could be broken General Chang gave up his post as Chairman of the Sinkiang Provincial Government. He retained, however, the post of Commander of the Generalissimo's Northwest Headquarters, which gave him general supervisory powers in Northwest China and Sinkiang. He was succeeded as Chairman in May 1947 by Masud Sabri, the elderly representative of an Uighur family of rich landholders and merchants.

In 1904, at the age of seventeen, Masud Sabri had gone to Turkey to study. After eleven years, spent mostly in Istanbul, he returned to Sinkiang in 1915, strongly influenced by the Turkish nationalism of Kemal Atatürk. In 1934, after practicing medicine in Ili for several years, he traveled through Kashgar to India and then by sea to China, where he soon became associated politically with the C.C. Clique. Through the support of this clique, and not through any process of nomination by supporters in Sinkiang, he was made a delegate from Sinkiang to the Kuomintang National Conference of 1936 and subsequently a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. During the war against Japan, the C.C. Clique placed him in the National Political Coun-

[87] The full text of Chang Chih-chung's speech was published in *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, August 14, 1947 (in Chinese). Note the long delay before publication, indicating the political tension during these months.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

175 * 635

cil. In 1942 he became a member of the National Government.

Thus in 1947 when Masud Sabri became Chairman of Sinkiang — the first "native" ever to hold that position — he did not come to the fore as the head of a movement originating in Sinkiang but as a "tame" Uighur who had long been the pensioner of the powerful C.C. Clique. The fact that he was not stepping up to the governorship from within Sinkiang but was returning after an expatriation of many years was underlined by his arrival from China in the company of General Sung Hsi-lien, commander of the Chinese "expeditionary forces" that had been sent into Sinkiang, and General T'ao Shih-yueh, provincial garrison commander.[88]

It is not surprising, therefore, that even before Masud Sabri's arrival several members of the provincial assembly signed a letter to General Chang Chih-chung protesting his appointment. On June 4, after his inauguration on May 31, no less than 63 members of the assembly out of 90 present adopted a resolution opposing him, while outside of the assembly the opposition to him was headed by twelve popular organizations.[89] Handbills distributed by these organizations stressed the fact that Masud Sabri had not been in Sinkiang when the nationalist risings began, that he had not shown himself as soon as Sheng Shih-ts'ai fell from power, and that he had no local record in either administration or leadership.[90]

In spite of these protests conservative Uighurs, especially landholders in oases occupied by Chinese forces, gathered around Masud Sabri in numbers sufficient to split the nationalist movement. With the backing of the C.C. Clique and the Chinese military, confirmation was withheld from elected members of the provincial judiciary, command appointments in the provincial peace preservation corps were held up, and district magistrates elected by local councils were forced to continue to take orders from the Chinese military. Out of 421 appointments to the police bureau in Urumchi only 48 were Moslems, with Chinese holding

[88] *Min Chu Pao* (*Democratic Daily*), Kulja, June 18, 1947 (in Chinese).
[89] *Ibid.*, July 3, 1947.
[90] *Ibid.*, June 24, 1947.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1

*175 635

84 per cent of the posts. Police orders were written only in Chinese, and Moslem members of the force were not allowed to carry arms. Moreover a secret police force continued to operate, although supposedly abolished under the "basic provincial law" of July 1946.[91]

Tension mounted. Only a month after Masud Sabri's inauguration the secret police and members of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, supported by the regular police, attacked a moving picture theater where more than a thousand people were gathered and beat up members of the provincial assembly and a former Deputy District Magistrate from Turfan, and at the same time people in the street who had been reading a wall poster denouncing Masud Sabri were arrested, beaten, and imprisoned.[92] Pressure by Masud Sabri prevented the holding of a protest meeting which had been planned by Kulja members of the provincial assembly.

The split between Masud Sabri and the militant Kulja nationalists then became open. In July 1947 a group of twenty-seven members of the provincial assembly left Urumchi for Kulja; this group included representatives from Kharashahr, Turfan, Khotan, and Aksu as well as from the Kulja region itself. They were joined shortly afterward by twenty-two members from the Kashgar region, and finally in August the rest of the Kulja delegates withdrew to Kulja, headed by Akhmedjan Kasimi.[93]

From his supervisory position as a backer of Masud Sabri, General Chang Chih-chung in September addressed an open letter to Akhmedjan, as the leader of the dissidents, asking in effect if there was to be war or peace: "If you have no intention against peace, you will return to Urumchi and reopen negotiations with the government."[94] The Kulja reply, in November, denied that secession from China was intended and offered to return to Urumchi if the government would meet certain demands, includ-

[91] *Ibid.*, June 24 and 29, 1947.
[92] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1947.
[93] *Hsinchiang Jih Pao* (*Sinkiang Daily*), Urumchi, July 11 and 14, 1947 (in Chinese).
[94] *Time*, New York, October 6, 1947.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

ing the removal of Masud Sabri. In December Chang Chih-chung answered that the Chinese Government would not consider replacing Masud Sabri without an election; but at the same time he renewed his invitation for further negotiations. The Kulja response merely reiterated the demand for the removal of Masud Sabri.[95]

In the meantime General Chang Chih-chung had returned to Nanking, where he submitted to the government a "five year plan" for the development of agriculture, forestry, mining, cattle raising, and industry in Sinkiang. In January 1948 the Chinese Government appropriated NC fifty billion dollars in the depreciated currency of the period as compensation for private property confiscated by Sheng Shih-ts'ai. A high official, P'eng Hsueh-p'ei, was sent on a six-week "fact-finding" tour of Sinkiang, and on his return urged immediate improvement of health and transportation facilities.

In the main, however, the situation continued at deadlock through the year 1948. The Chinese Government maintained a force of about 100,000 troops in Sinkiang, many of them American-equipped, and these troops were effectively immobilized in the civil war against the Communists. Opposed to them were troops of the Kulja coalition, mainly Uighurs and Kazakhs, whose numbers were variously reported at figures ranging from 20,000 to 60,000. These troops were frequently reported to be receiving aid from Russia.

In military action, however, the most sensational events were not on the frontier between Kuomintang-held Sinkiang and the dissidents of the Kulja coalition, but on the Outer Mongolian frontier, around the knot of mountains known as the Baitik Bogda. These mountains are an outlying spur of the main Altai range, and stand at the edge of the Jungarian Desert of northern Sinkiang. When Sinkiang, Outer Mongolia, and China were united under the Manchu Empire, this frontier was not of great impor-

[95] Dispatch by John Roderick from Lanchow, Kansu Province (General Chang's headquarters), dated April 5, 1948, published in *China Daily Tribune*, Shanghai, April 7, 1948.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

widespread fighting broke out, however, and American reporters who went up to Sinkiang after the first reports tended to minimize the significance of the incidents.[96]

The exact location of the frontier in this region remains unclear. Recent Chinese maps show the entire Baitik Bogda within Sinkiang, and the Outer Mongolian frontier running along the main crest of the Altai.[97] Older maps, however, both Russian (Tsarist) and British, show the frontier running either right through the Baitik Bogda or somewhat to the south of the main height of the hills.

In December 1948 the Chinese Government made a new move of major importance by dropping Masud Sabri as Chairman of the Province and replacing him with Burkhan, the former Vice-Chairman, who as a "middle-of-the-roader" was more acceptable to the Kulja dissidents. Burkhan, a Russian Tatar by origin, with large trading interests, had been a man of influence in Sinkiang since Tsarist times. He had managed to maintain himself under the regimes of Yang Tseng-hsin, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, and the Kuomintang.

In January 1949 Chang Chih-chung returned to Sinkiang to attempt to negotiate a new Sino-Soviet economic treaty, to replace a ten-year agreement signed in 1939 under the regime of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. It was reported at the time that the Russians were attempting to acquire monopoly rights in mining and trade. There was also speculation that on the Chinese side an elaborate maneuver was being carried out to create a conflict of interest between the Russians and the Chinese Communists, by granting to the Russians exclusive rights in this frontier sector of Chinese territory. In the upshot, no new treaty was negotiated, but the Russian monopoly right to an air service between Komul and the

[96] See, for example, dispatch from Henry R. Lieberman, from Urumchi, August 27, 1948, in *New York Times*, September 8, 1948.

[97] See the map on p. 59 of the article by Chang Chih-yi, "Land Utilization and Settlement Possibilities in Sinkiang," in *Geographical Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1, New York, 1949.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1 •

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOCIETY

1. General Introduction

The Northwest of China, consisting of the four provinces: Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, part of which is now called the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, comprises an area of 1.3 million square miles, (almost a third of all China), in which thirty-six million people live. There are at least four different racial types (Turanides, Sinides, Mongoloides and Tangutides) and more than a dozen different ethnic groups: Eastern Turks or New Uighur (Chin. Wei-wu-erh), Chinese (chin. Han), Chinese Muslims (chin. Han-hui or Tung-kan-hui, Engl. Dungans), Kazakhs (chin. Ha-sa-k'o), Kirghiz (chin. Chi-erh-chi-ssu) Uzbeks (chin. Wu-tzu-pieh-k'o), Tatars (chin. T'a-t'a-erh), Tajiks (chin. T'a-chi-k'o), Western Mongols or Oirats (chin. Ölöt or simply Meng-ku), Sarigh-Uighurs (chin. Tung-hsiang-hui-hui), Shera Yögur (chin. Tu-jen), Monguors (chin. also Tu-jen), Salars (chin. Sa-la), Tibetans (chin. Hsi-fan), Manchu (chin. Man), Sibo (chin. Hsi-po) and Solons (chin. So-lun). The last three ethnic groups, the Manchus, Sibos, and Solons are persistently listed in Communist censuses, although it has been proved that they are non-existent as linguistic units, or as separate ethnic groups. Numerically, the Chinese constitute the overwhelming majority in the Northwest (about thirty million).

While the Turks of the Northwest (i.e. New Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars and Salars) are rather firm believers in Islam (Mohammedanism), the Western Mongols, Sarigh-Uighurs (the latter are Turks), Shera Yögur, and Tibetans are faithful Buddhists of the northern form, also called Lama Buddhism, and the Chinese believe in a variety of religious or philosophical systems: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and even Demonism and Animism.

The economic pattern of the Northwest as well displays an enormous variety; we find nomadic pastoralism among the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Western Mongols, and Tibetans, intensive horticulture among the New Uighur of the oasis-belt of Sinkiang, agriculture by means of irrigation (kariz system. See chapter about agriculture) among Chinese (only fifteen percent of the Northwest agriculture is without any irrigation), sedentary Turks and Mongols, and a mixture of primitive agriculture and pastoralism among some Tibetan and Mongolian Tribes of Chinghai and Kansu. The Turkic and the Chinese Muslims are the bearers of the trade along the old "silk roads" of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu. The urban centers of the Northwest are also centers of petty industry and handicraft. The newest

Only since 1930 have some automobile highways been built, and the Communist regime, in cooperation with Soviet Russia, are building the first Inner Asiatic railway, linking Alma-Ata with Lan-chou. This railway will, without doubt, speed up the Sinification of the frontier areas, and above all add industrialization to agriculture and pastoral nomadism.

As far as Chinhai was concerned, the Western Mongols (the Oirats) were also locally ruled by dzasaks, the leaders of banners. Unlike the banners of Inner and Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, however, they did not combine banners to form leagues or to elect one of their tribal leaders as the captain-general of the league. The Chinese governor- with his seat in Sining - functioned as captain-general. In regard to the nomadic Tibetans, the Chinese government appointed chieftains as dzasak-lamas and gave them the rights and the privileges which this office involves. The sedentary Tibetans were ruled by t'u-ssus, also appointees of the Peking government. By and large, this governmental pattern existed until the Communists came into power.

The form of governing non-Chinese peoples changed in the course of time in various ways, but one thing never changed: the aim of the Peking government to rule, to suppress, to exploit, and to sinify them.

Unlike the eighteen provinces in China proper, the province of Sinkiang (after 1884) and the Eastern Three Provinces, (after 1907) the areas comprising Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan, although occupying more space than China proper, were administrated by a quite different type of governmental system. Political subdivisions of the Chinese Empire such as Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan and Tibet were usually referred to as dependencies. This is however an inaccurate translation of the Chinese term "fan," which really means "the barbarian west." Since the cultural, ethnic and historical background in these areas was very different from the rest of the Empire, these regions required, and in practice had, a very particular type of governmental control. All these frontier territories were administered by the "Department of Dependencies" in Peking. This department was subdivided into the following bureaus:

a. Inner Mongolian bureau, that administered frontier boundaries, titles of nobility, appointment of officials, military affairs, league conferences, and finally organization of banner units of Inner Mongolia.

b. "Reception bureau" for Inner Mongolia nobility, that was responsible for the payments and allowances to the Inner Mongolian aristocracy.

c. Eastern Turkestan bureau, that was in charge of Moslem affairs in Eastern Turkestan.

S N 563 182 II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

S N [169] S N [651] S N 563 669 182 S 563 635 182 S N 563 798 182

S 563 635 182 On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

S N 563 798 182 A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

HISTORICAL SETTING

N 631 I. General History of Relations with China

Northwest China, once a major administrative region of Communist China, is an arbitrary political union of widely dissimilar geographical areas inhabited by a conglomeration of diverse ethnic N 635 groups. At the eastern end of this vast wedge-shaped region is [162] Shensi, which has been an integral part of China Proper throughout history and is inhabited almost exclusively by Chinese. Although it is only one-seventeenth of the total area, this single province holds almost half of the population of the Northwest. N (633) Sian, the provincial seat of Shensi, has been in centuries past and [177] still is today China's political and military base for the control of [668] the Northwest and has been the center for the diffusion of Chinese culture to the Northwest in the past and of Communist ideology in the present.

S 635 At the western end of the Northwest region of China is the [131] province of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan. Its territory occupies [6] half the area of the Northwest but its population is only a seventh [563] of the total. Three-quarters of the inhabitants are Uighurs, a people Turkic in speech and Moslem in religion. The rest is divided among thirteen nationalities.

N 635 In the north is the now abolished province of Ninghsia, inhabited largely by Mongols. In the south is Chinghai (also known as Kokonor) with a heterogeneous population of Mongols, Chinese and Tibetans. The Gobi Desert, which pushes south to Ninghsia, and the highlands of Chinghai constricts the habitable area into an hourglass shape, forming a corridor connecting Shensi in the east and Sinkiang in the west. This is the province of Kansu.

N 175 A. The Role of the Kansu Panhandle
487

All traffic between China Proper and Turkestan has been funnelled through the narrow confines of this corridor. The ancient S 175 Silk Road started from its terminus at Sian (known in the past as 487 Ch'ang-an) and wound its way, via the Kansu Corridor, into Chinese Turkestan where it branched into the northern and southern routes to bypass the towering Tienshan Mountains. The conquering armies of Han, T'ang and Ch'ing had marched out through this narrow passageway to assert the political rule of China over the desert wastes and oasis towns of Turkestan. Hordes of nomads, lured by the lush plains and opulent cities of China, have poured through this funnel to raid and pillage and, when successful, to found militaristic kingdoms. This was the route worn deep by the trudging feet of camel caravans bearing the tea and silk and porcelain of China to bazaars in the Near East and even to the markets of Byzantium and Rome. In the train of these caravans travellers have come into China, from the Buddhist missionary, Kumarajiva,

175 the revolution reached Sinkiang and the revolutionists occupied Urumchi, it was Yüan who defeated them. The revolutionists, led by a man from Hunan, one of the many who had migrated to Sinkiang, withdrew to northern Sinkiang where they proclaimed the independence of Ili. One of Yüan's officers, Yang Tseng-hsin, recruited a Moslem corps, marched north and succeeded in suppressing the revolt. With the military power in his hands and with the backing of Yüan Ta-hua, Yang assumed the governorship of Sinkiang. The Republican government formally confirmed the office in 1912.

175 1. Governor Yang Tseng-hsin

159 The first phase of Yang's administration was military. Oppres-
635 sion of the local officials and crushing taxes drove the Chinese Mos-
669 lems in Qomul (Hami) to revolt, but Yang soon quashed the insurrection. In Ili, Chinese and Manchurian revolutionists continued their resistance. Yang dulled the edge of their power by negotiations. He recognized their republic as a part of Sinkiang and their officials as legitimate officials. Later, when the Ili revolutionists agreed to accept a loan from Russia without the knowledge of the provincial or central authorities, Yang wired Peking and received orders to seize and execute the leaders. Yang acted promptly in taking over control of that region.

159 Another source of trouble for Yang Tseng-hsin was the activities
175 of a secret society known as Ko-lao Hui, introduced into Sinkiang by
635 the troops of Tso Tsung-t'ang and Liu Chin-t'ang. In later years it
575 gained many adherents among the Chinese Moslems. A member who
668 later rose to prominence was Ma Hung-pin, who under the Communists became a vice chairman of Kansu province. During the disorders following the fall of the dynasty, the headquarters of the secret society moved to Kashgar and its influence spread to Kharashar, Kucha, Aksu, Yarkand and Khotan. It took Yang Tseng-hsin two years to suppress the organization.

159 On the northern borders of Sinkiang, Yang's troops fought a
635 number of skirmishes with the Outer Mongolian forces who invaded
175 Sinkiang in 1912 and seized control of Kobdo. Hostilities finally
648 ended with the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Yang and the government at Urga.

159 Internally, Yang undertook administrative and financial reforms.
631 By severe punishment of corrupt officials he sought to check graft,
635 and by the issuance of a new currency he tried to halt inflation.
175 Under him, a million mou (about 135,000 acres) of new land was
185 opened to cultivation. To win the support of the natives, he gave power at the lower administrative level to the begs - Uighur headmen. Since their tenure of office was thirty years to life, they had an advantage over Chinese-appointed magistrates who were periodically changed. In official proclamations, he permitted the use of the native languages. This policy was effective until the collapse of the Imperial Russian government.

000 Imperial Russian government.

159 The revolution in Russia presented fresh problems to Yang's
635 administration. In 1917, hordes of Kazakhs who were residents of
175 Russian Turkestan, fled from conscription and poured into Sinkiang.
648 At one time, it was estimated that there were 200,000 Kazakh
167 refugees in the province, of whom about 100,000 were in the vicinity of Ili and 70,000 in Tarbagatai. Yang used his good offices to persuade the Soviet Government to pardon them and to permit these Kazakhs to return home. Following the Kazakhs, large numbers of White Russian emigres entered Sinkiang between the years 1918 and 1921. Yang drove out the more truculent ones, disarmed the others and gave them asylum in Sinkiang. Many of them enlisted in his forces.

159 The Soviet domination of Outer Mongolia resulted in the complete
635 repudiation of Chinese authority by all the Mongols except those in
175 the inner regions of the border provinces who were more accessible
648 to Chinese influence.

These new developments impelled Yang Tseng-hsin to adopt a campaign to promote dissension among his nomadic subjects. To accomplish this first he withdrew from the Mongols their rights to all the nomad lands granted them under the Manchu dynasty. Under these rights the Kazakhs had been required to pay grazing fees to the Mongols for use of the land. Then he withheld arms from the Mongols and supplied them to the Kazakhs, thus insuring the continuation of hostilities between the two peoples. These measures, coupled perhaps with the enmity which often exists between peoples of different faith and tradition, were sufficient to prevent the Sinkiang Mongols from joining with their kinsmen beyond the Altai. Under the pressure of Kazakh raids that penetrated even to the north of the Altai range, the Mongols of Sinkiang retreated farther into the province. Communication between them and Outer Mongolia came to an end.

175 The revival of a spirit of independence among the Mongols was
648 characterized generally by a lack of native leaders or of outstanding personalities of any sort. Nevertheless, there was one individual whose ambitions were associated with this spirit and who enjoyed a brief success as a Mongol leader. This was Dambijantsin or Ja Lama. Ja Lama, a Russian Kalmuck by birth, appeared in Western Mongolia in the early twentieth century. With his propaganda for the revival of the Mongol federation, he succeeded in attracting a following. As early as the late nineteenth century, travelers in Outer Mongolia had heard reports of Ja Lama. He claimed to be the grandson of Amursana, the last great Oirat chieftain, and he foretold the liberation of the Mongols from the Chinese by the action of forces that would gather in Siberia. Some such legend seems to have been current among the Oirats at that time. The Russian traveler, Roborovski, heard rumors that Amursana himself would return to unite the Western Mongols. Whether he created the legend or merely

175 widely distributed and separated from each other by non-Mongol peoples. These Torguts were located in the Tienshan Range above the oasis of Karashahr, on the northern slopes of the Tienshan, and on the southern slopes of the Altai.

The Bato Setkhiltu League was composed of three banners of Khoshuts who lived on the Yulduz plateau in the heart of the central Tien Shan.

The Ching Setkhiltu League, which included three banners of Khoshuts and seven of Urianghai, was located in the Chuguchak-Altai area in northern Sinkiang.

The Chahars in the Borotala Valley, and the Oirat in the valleys of the Tekes and Kash rivers in the Ili region were not included in the leagues.

However, the Chahars and Urianghai are not true Western Mongols. The former were transplanted from Chahar by the Manchus after the conquest of Dzungaria in the eighteenth century; the latter are descendants of tribes who originally lived in what is now Tannu Tuva.

175 159 635 648 Through Yang Tseng-hsin's efforts, Sinkiang remained neutral in the civil war that raged in China in 1926-27. His troops kept out the forces of the "Christian General" Feng Yü-hsiang. On his own initiative, he negotiated a new treaty with the Soviet government permitting Soviet consulates to operate in Sinkiang even after the National Government broke off relations with Soviet Russia in 1927. With the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, Yang wired his acknowledgement of, and allegiance to, the new government, which confirmed his position as governor.

2. Governor Chin Shu-jen

175 159 635 [682] [661] Yang Tseng-hsin came from the southwestern province of Yunnan and during his rule many men from Yunnan had followed him to Sinkiang. In 1928, a fellow Yunnan official, allegedly with the connivance of the Chinese Communists and the Russians, murdered Yang at a banquet in his honor. The military commander Chin Shu-jen, who was believed to be implicated in the assassination plot, immediately suppressed the revolt and put the ringleaders to death. He then maneuvered himself into the position of governor.

Under Chin, the government of Sinkiang virtually disintegrated. Corruption was rife. Chin himself set the example for rapacity. He ruled in open defiance of the National Government at Nanking to the extent of concluding, on his own initiative and without the cognizance of Nanking, a new agreement with Soviet Russia in 1931. [648] The agreement permitted Soviet authorities to establish eight commercial agencies in Sinkiang and to have complete control over telegraph and radio communications, thus increasing Soviet influence in the province.

175 159 635 669 578 The deterioration of economic conditions, heightened by spiralling inflation and the exploitation by Chin's minions, oppression, and inequities, led to widespread discontent. The situation was ripe for

175
159
635
669
578

rebellion.

The rebellion began at Qomul (Hami), where at the death of the old prince, the Chinese had taken over the region and divided it into three administrative districts under the rule of Chinese magistrates. Then, with the influx of refugees from Kansu, Chin ousted the Uighurs from one of the three districts to provide land for the refugees. To make things worse, the Uighurs had to pay taxes while the Chinese refugees were exempted for three years. Finally, when a tax-collector forced a pretty Uighur girl to marry him against her will, the Uighurs rose in anger and killed the tax collectors and the refugees.

When Chin sent troops to put down the rebellion, the Uighur rebels sought the aid of Ma Chung-ying, a young Chinese Moslem (Dungan) officer from Kansu. Entering Sinkiang in 1932 with 400 men, his [648] force was soon swelled by local recruits. The Japanese, seeking an opportunity to intervene in Sinkiang, were believed to have given him guidance and moral support, if not actually funds and military equipment. Barkol (Chen-hsi) and Qomul (Hami), as well as large areas of eastern Sinkiang, fell to the arms of the young conqueror. However, his attack on Urumchi was beaten back by a young Manchurian officer, Sheng Shih-ts'ai, whom Chin Shu-jen had brought to Sinkiang to take command of the army.

[648] Sheng's defenders were later reinforced by Manchurian troops, who had been interned in Soviet Siberia and who were repatriated and sent to Sinkiang. They were called the Northeast Anti-Japanese Army.

With the arming and augmenting of both the provincial government army and the rebel forces, the civil war increased in ferocity and intensity. There was a heavy slaughter of the Han Chinese, the Chinese Moslems, and the Uighurs. Meanwhile, the Russian mercenaries stationed at Urumchi, whose pay had been in arrears, also revolted. In the pandemonium, Chin fled the city and found refuge in Russia. Sheng Shih-ts'ai came to the fore to take control over the army and the civil government.

3. Governor Sheng Shih-ts'ai

175
159
635
669

Although frustrated in his assaults on Urumchi in 1932 and again in 1934, Ma Chung-ying was able to expand his power from Qomul (Hami) westward to Kashgar, hemming in Urumchi from all sides. In his marches back and forth across Sinkiang he left wide swaths of pillage and rapine, death and desolation in his wake. His far-ranging depredations were the signal for other bands of insurgents to rise. The Chinese military commander of Ili raised the banner of independence. In the Tarim Basin, the local Han Chinese and Chinese Moslem residents had banded together into an Eastern Turkestan Army to defend themselves against the ravages of Ma Chung-ying. In November, 1933, a group of Burut chiefs, assisted by returned-students from Turkey, seized control of the Eastern Turkestan Army and established an Eastern Turkestan Republic at Kashgar. In their newly-drafted constitution, they stated that the structure of their government would be based on the Koran, and all decrees and laws

also would be based on the Koran. Emissaries were sent to seek aid and support from Moslems in Afghanistan and India where the Pan-Islamic Movement was then in full swing. Telegrams were sent to the Nationalist Government of China and to the League of Nations requesting recognition of their state. Not only did they fail to obtain support and recognition from abroad, but they were also repudiated by their own people. Once in power, they embarked on a terroristic program of persecuting the Han Chinese and the Chinese Moslems who were the mainstays of the Eastern Turkestan Army. Then, too, they were weakened by internal dissensions and by the struggles of the leaders for power, until one by one they were killed. The Eastern Turkestan Republic was finally dissolved when Ma Chung-ying attacked Kashgar in June, 1934.

Meantime, Sheng Shih-ts'ai reached an agreement with the Soviet authorities whereby he received planes, trucks, armored cars, machine-guns and ammunition. While Soviet troops operated in the region of the Altai Mountains, Sheng's forces marched north and succeeded in routing the insurgents at Ili. Again he led his army south against Ma Chung-ying. His possession of superior armaments turned the scales in the battle of Urumchi. Ma Chung-ying fled, harried by Sheng's warplanes, which bombed and strafed the rebel columns at Turfan and Korla. He went to Kashgar in April, 1934. Four months later, again forced to evacuate Kashgar, he crossed the border into Russian Turkestan and was never heard of again.

The civil war in Sinkiang had lasted for four years of wholesale destruction and bloodshed. Weary of strife and disorder, the people were ready to accept Sheng Shih-ts'ai's proclamation of a new and stable government and his promises for a new era in Sinkiang. When he first came to power in 1933, he announced an eight-point policy that had gained him considerable support. The eight points were: 1. racial equality, 2. religious freedom, 3. immediate and equitable distribution of farm relief, 4. financial reform, 5. administrative reform to clean the government, 6. extension of education, 7. promotion of self-government, and 8. judicial reform.

Under the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai, Uighurs and Kazakhs were appointed to high posts in their own district governments. The non-Chinese nationalities were encouraged to use their own languages and to organize their own schools. The number of students in schools increased from 3,000 in 1933 to 150,000 in 1936, and many non-Chinese students were sent abroad to study in Soviet Russia. The Sinkiang Daily was published in seven languages, and cultural associations were established for the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Dungans (Chinese Moslems), Tartars, Russians, and Chinese.

When he finally had suppressed the rebellions and firmly established the authority of his government, Sheng Shih-ts'ai announced his Six Great Policies for New Sinkiang: 1. anti-imperialism, 2. kinship with Soviet Russia, 3. racial equality, 4. honest government,

S
175 5. peace, and 6. reconstruction. After the years of tyranny and
159 misrule, the government which Sheng created in Sinkiang in com-
• 635 parison was enlightened and progressive, although, because of the
669 characteristics and background of the region, it was autocratic.

N IV. The Rise of the Communists

*175 While Sheng Shih-ts'ai was consolidating his power in Sinkiang,
*668 events were taking a dramatic turn at the other end of the vast
669 territory which comprises China's Northwest. The nucleus of the first Communist guerilla bands appeared at Paoan in northern Shensi in 1931. By the following year, when they came under the overall direction of the Political Department of the Chinese Communist Party headquarters at Yulin, they controlled eleven counties. The poverty of the region made the people receptive to Communist propaganda. In 1935, the Red Army, which had been driven out of Kiangsi, reached northern Shensi after a long and circuitous trek through southwestern China. Here they were under attack by government troops until December, 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek, who was visiting Sian, was detained by Manchurian troops stationed in the area. Under the terms that the Nationalist Government accepted to secure the release of Chiang, the policy shifted from fighting the Communists to outright opposition to Japan. With the pressure on them removed, the Chinese Communists immediately began to expand in all directions. In the months that followed they occupied 24 counties (18 in northern Shensi, 5 in Kansu and one in Ninghsia). They controlled a population of two million in what was known as the Shen-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.

Their headquarters at Yenan, in northern Shensi became the Mecca of the Chinese Communists and fellow-travellers. From here tentacles of Communist strength stretched out to North China, Inner Mongolia, and to Sinkiang where some of the Communist agents found service in the administration of Sheng Shih-ts'ai. During World War II, the Communists were unable to penetrate southern Shensi, where the government had stationed an army. The Communists also made little headway in Ninghsia, in the regions held by the Chinese Moslem general, Ma Hung-k'uei, and in Chinghai, held by another Chinese Moslem general, Ma Pu-fang. In both these provinces, the Moslem population repudiated Communism and resisted Communist forces.

S
175 The Nationalist Government's preoccupation with the war
159 against Japan permitted Sheng Shih-ts'ai to govern Sinkiang as a
648 virtually independent ruler. For seven years, until 1940, he main-
[635] tained his policy of kinship and orientation to the Soviet Union rather than to China and his nominal superior, the Nationalist Government.

After 1941, when German armies overran and occupied eastern Russia, and the Soviet government, engaged in a violent struggle for survival, could not continue to send him supplies, he broke his ties

175 563 578 [635] The pressure on Chang Chih-chung from both sides became so intense that in May, 1947, he resigned and was succeeded by a Uighur, Maksud(Masud) Sabri. Maksud's appointment accentuated the clash of interest between rival factions in Sinkiang. The Uighur people generally supported him since he was one of them although he had spent many years of his life abroad. However, some of the more articulate popular groups denounced him vociferously and a majority of the members in the provincial assembly adopted a resolution opposing his nomination. In July, shortly after confirmation of his appointment, the Kulja delegation, headed by vice-chairman Akmejan Kasimi, withdrew. However, in a statement from Kulja (released in November) they denied that they had any intention of seceding from China and declared that they would return if their demands, including the removal of Maksud, were met. Since to dismiss Maksud so soon after his appointment in order to please the Kazakhs, would alienate the Uighurs, the National Government procrastinated and a deadlock resulted.

175 578 648 Meanwhile the Kulja faction itself was split by dissensions. Osman Batur defected. He and his men were incorporated into the Nationalist Army and stationed at Pei-ta-shan (Baitik Bogdo) close to the border of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, claiming this region as its own, invaded in 1948 and penetrated a hundred miles into Chinese territory until they were checked by Osman Batur who was acclaimed as a hero throughout China. The dispute finally reached the United Nations without a satisfactory settlement.

175 578 669 668 [635] By December, 1948, matters in Sinkiang had reached such an impasse that Maksud Sabri was removed and the governorship of Sinkiang was given to Burkhan Shahidi, another Uighur, who was vice-chairman of the provincial government and a middle-of-the-roader. During the first part of 1949 the Communist advance in China itself turned the attention of the National Government away from Sinkiang. In September, Saifuddin Azizi, a leader of the Kulja coalition, went to the Communist capital as a delegate to the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and he brought word of the submission of the Ili faction to the Chinese Communists. Chang Chih-chung, whom the National Government sent to Peiping to negotiate with the Communists, also surrended and exerted his influence to persuade the officials in Sinkiang to join the Communist bandwagon. By the end of September, when Communist troops under Wang Chen pushed through the Kansu Corridor, the governor of Sinkiang, Burkhan, and the military commander, T'ao Chih-yueh, in separate telegrams, offered their allegiance to the Chinese Communist Government. A few days later, Communist troops reached and occupied Urumchi.

civilization. The former provinces of Ninghsia, Chinghai, and Sinkiang are China's frontier dependencies. While Ninghsia was part of Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang is the homeland of the Turkic peoples, Chinghai forms a transitional area between the Tibetans and Mongols on the southwest and northeast as well as between the Chinese and Uighurs in the southeast and northwest repsectively. Although these borderlands were first brought under China's political control during the Han Dynasty at the beginning of the Christian Era, their political ties to China were not consolidated until recently.

In order to check Tzarist Russia's aggression towards Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) after her occupation of the Ili valley, China sent an expedition under General Tso Tsung-t'ang in 1871 to reconquer the region and to make it a province under the name of Sinkiang (literally "New Dominion") in 1881.

In view of Russia's continued southward encroachment from Siberia upon Outer Mongolia and Britain's from India northward to Tibet during the Chinese Revolution at the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1910-1912, China carved Ninghsia out of Inner Mongolia and Chinghai out of greater Tibet, thereby creating two special districts with Yin-chuan and Hsi-ning as their centers under the provincial administration of Kansu in 1913. By 1928, they were made into two separate provinces. However, quite unexpectedly, following the formation of the Inner Mongolian Autonomy, the province of Ninghsia was abolished and has been added to Kansu province in 1955. (In May 1956 the Alashan and Edsingol regions have been detached from Kansu province and incorporated into the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Precise boundary demarcations are not yet known.) Although the political control over these frontier dependencies of Sinkiang, Chinhai, and Ninghsia has been strengthened gradually by the subsequent changes of their administrative status in relation to China, they still remain as "pale" areas in the distribution of Chinese population and culture. That is, the inhabitants of these borderlands are essentially ethnic minority peoples such as Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Monguors, Khirgiz, Kazakhs, etc. They are non-han Chinese peoples with an increasing touch of Chinese cultural influence and an increasing number of Chinese elements among the various native groups.

The annexation of these frontier territories to China has brought about an artificial connection between the Chinese and the non-Han Chinese minority peoples, both nomads and settlers. Until now, the natives do not seem to have been influenced much by administrative unity. Not much sympathy is exchanged between the Chinese and Lamaist Tibetan or Mongol; even less

S
N
● 635 between the Moslems and the Lamaists.
186 As a result of the aforesaid complexity of its geographic basis as well as its intricate historical and political background, the Northwest's population problems are as complicated as its intermingling ethnic composition. For many years , the extreme
S northwestern province of Sinkiang suffered from continual con-
635 flict between China and Russia, although with the introduction of
648 the Communist regime, the conflict seems at least temporarily resolved.

N The development of industrialization in present day China is
47 concentrated in the Northwest. New towns have been emerging
361 in barren mountains and in deserts, such as Shih-yu-ho (near
198 Yü-men), Tu-shan-tzu, (south of Wu-su) and Shih-ho-tzu on the western highway of Urumchi between the towns of Manas (Sui-lai) and Ulan-Wusu. The first two sprang up because of the drilling of promising oil wells in the Chi-lien and Tien-shan mountains.

N The China Academy of Sciences announced in December, 1955,
647 that in 1956 a number of new research divisions will be
816 established in the Northwest: a Petroleum Research Bureau in Lanchow of Kansu, an Agro-biology Bureau in Wu-kung, Shensi, an Archaeological Research Bureau in Sian, a Geo-physical Research Bureauand a Veterinary Research Bureau. (Jen-min jih-pao Dec. 16, 1955, NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N Last November, the Northwest Branch of the China Academy
816 of Sciences held a meeting at which, with the assistance of
185 the Russian Korshekov an ambitious plan was formulated for
435 the economic development of the Northwest in the coming
[648] fifteen years, with emphasis on survey of natural resources, study of petroleum and rare metals, exploitation of non-ferrous metals, agronomy, soil science and animal husbandry. In these
N discussions, the professors of three schools of higher education,
[873] the Northwest University, the Northwest Industrial College, and the Northwest Agricultural College, took an active part. (Kuang-ming jih-pao Dec. 13, 1955; NCNA. May 11, 1956).

N B. General Distribution and Regional Characteristics.
161 The Northwest Region has an average density of 28.6 persons per square mile, as compared with the average density of 160 per square miles for the whole country. It has the smallest number in population among all the major regions of China, as the following shows:

Major Regions	Population (1953 Census)
North China	55, 749, 000
Northeast China	41, 732, 000
East China	162, 682, 000
Central and South China	176, 331, 000

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

N
635
162 Chinghai: The total population of Chinghai province is just over one and a half million. Althoug it is the smallest in number it is the most varied in composition, and it is the most unevenly distributed. About two thirds of the total population live in the few counties of the Hsi-ning district along the Huang-shui (Hsi-ning-ho) and Ta-tung and the main upper Yellow River in the eastern part of the province. These counties originally belonged to Kansu and were added to Chinghai when the province was formed in 1928. The remaining third is widely scattered. As a result of the territorial shift in provincial administration, the population of Chinghai is predominantly Chinese. The Chinese and Dungans plus some Moslems (Salars) are distributed mainly in the eastern portion of the province. According to a questionable report some 25,000 Salars have recently moved from Sinkiang into the province of Chinghai. Also a small group of Kazakh have recently migrated into Chinghai. Some of them are found in the extreme Northwestern part of the province, bordering Sinkiang.

The next important elements are the "Fan" or Tibetans and Mongols. The Tibetan "Fan" are found in the higher parts of the province, such as the Nan-shan Mountain Belt in the north and the Ta-chi-shih massif in the southeast and Yu-shu district, or open plateau areas south of the Baian Khara divide, drained by the upper Yangtze River. The Mongols, Monguors (Tu-jen) and Oirats are found essentially in the upland basins of Tsaidam and Koko Nor.

S
635
162 Sinkiang: Sinkiang is the largest province in size, covering one sixth of the country-s total area. It is twelve times larger than the province of Hopei. It has the smallest population among all the provinces except Chinghai . Apart from the north and southwest part of the Dzungarian Basin and the Ili Valley where they are more evenly spread, the people are concentrated in isolated clusters of oases scattered around the Takla Makan Desert in the Tarim Basin. The main portion of the population of Kashgaria or the Tarim Basin is concentrated in these oases at the edge of the desert and along the foot of the encircling mountains. The valleys of the surrounding mountains are occupied by nomads and semi-settled natives leading a pastoral life.

The composition of the 4.8 million population of Sinkiang is most complicated. Sinkiang is known as a "Natural Museum of Ethnology of the World." Here one finds Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turks, as well as some Indo-Europeans living side by side. As Pevtsov has said: "From the ethnological point of view the natives of Kashgaria resemble a mixture of ancient Aryans of the Iranian branch with Turco-Mongols. By religion they are Sunna Moslems; they are very friendly toward foreigners.

S
[771]

N S 316 135 432 635 1956
S 316 135 327

TABLE IV. China's Northwest:Coal Reserve Distribution by Provinces.[1]
(Reserve in million metric tons and production in tons)

Province	Anthracite	Bituminous	Total	Production(1955)
Shensi	750	71,200	71,950	650,000
Kansu	59	997	1,656[3]	110,000 (240,000 in 1947)
Ninghsia(now belongs to Kansu)	173	284	457	140,000
Chinghai	240	584	824	40,000
Sinkiang		31,980	31,980[2]	180,000

1. Mining Report, 1945, Chinese Geological Survey, cited by Nelson Dickerman:Natural resources of China, Foreign Minerals Survey, II, No. 7, (1948) Washington D. C. U.S. Bureau of Mines and also by George B. Cressey: China's 500 Million, 1955.

2. Present coal reserve of Sinkiang is estimated at 35,040 million metric tons.

3. A new discovery of 32 million metric tons of coal in 3arly 1955 should be added to Kansu's total reserve.

TABLE V. Iron Deposits in Sinkiang Province*

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Aksu	Ko-kan-chia	two deposits not of highest quality
	Tieh-pen-erh	" " " " " "
	Ko-la-pu-la-ko	
Ching-chi	Meng-ko-tu-ling	
Fu-yüan	Shui-hsi-kou	seven furnaces installed with 600 catties pig iron capacity
Sui-ting (Ili)	So-erh-ko-ling	
Pai-cheng	Ming-pu-la-kou mtn.	mining area of each said to be less than a mile square
	T'a-erh-chi mtns.	
	Ya-se-la-min mts	
	Neng-li-ha-ta mtn	
	K'o-shih-ko-ko-pa-shih mtn.	

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang All

S 316 135 327 ↑
S N 316 135 327 433 635 ↓

TABLE V. (Continued)

Locale	Deposit	Comment
Ta-cheng(Chuguchak)	K'o-la-ta-fu-pan to Ch'erh Shan	vein 130 miles long largest in province
T'a-pan-cheng	unnamed	
Yengi Hissar	I-Ko-jih-ya-yen mtn	
	A-ha-mai-ti mtn.	

* Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, pp. 113-14.

TABLE VI. Distribution of Iron Ore Reserves of N. W. China by Provinces*

(Reserve in 1000 metric tons, and production in metric tons)

Province	Proved	Estimated	Total	Percent	Production
Shensi	4,847	6,000	10,847	0.50	1,800
Kansu	2,196	310	2,486	0.10	24,000
Ninghsia	5,079	2,500	7,579	0.35	
Chinghai		5,000	5,000	0.23	
Sinkiang	47,537	1,200	48,737	2.23	

*PAI, CC: General Statement on the Mining Industry. Geological Survey of China, special Report, No. 7, Dec., 1945.

N.B. 1. The total iron ore reserve of Shensi has been raised from 0.5% to 2.3% of the nation's total. That would give it an approximate total of 50,000,000 metric tons.

2. The total iron ore reserve of Kansu has been raised to 12,600,000 metric tons.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang All

TABLE VII. Chief Copper Ore Deposits in Sinkiang*

Locale	Deposits	Comment
Sui-ting (Ili)	Wu-tsu-tao shan	
I-ning	Ha-erh-han-tu Shan	
K'ang-shan	unnamed	
Karashar	Ku-erh-tai shan	
Kashgar	Wu-lan-wu-su river	20% pure copper
	Su-hun-shan	40% pure copper
Kucha	New copper works	
	Old copper works	
	Su-pa-shih works	
Pai-cheng	Ho-se-erh works	
	Ko-ta works	
	Kung-po works	
	Upper works	
	Lower works	
Ta-pan-cheng	San-chia shan	
Tihua	Chai-o-pao	

*Noris, Martin R.: Gateway to Asia, Chap. IX, p. 117.

TABLE VIII Distribution of Copper Deposits of Northwest China

Province	Location of Deposit	Content	Remarks	Lat. & Long.
Shensi	Yu-feng-chia(Lo-nan)	10% Cu	Malachite 3,780 tons (metal	
Chinghai	Ta-hsia (Lo-tu Hsien)	5.3% Cu	worth investi-	36.33 x 102.16
	Wei-chang-kou(Hstin-hua)	45% Cu	gating	35.38 x 102.35
Sinkiang	Gorban Bogdo (Tihua)		" "	43.42 x 88.18
	Jorga (Pai-cheng)		" "	
Wen-su, Turfan, Aksu, Yenchi (for the rest see previous table.)				

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang All

TABLE X. (Continued)

Province	Field of Deposit	Lat. & Long.	1942 production	Total	1943 prod.	Total
Kansu (Continued)						
	Pei-wen (Lake)	38.50x101.14	130		104	
	Liu-chia-wan(Earth)		100		51	
	Pa-pan		45		19	
				12,335		14,898
Chinghai	Cha-chia (Lake)	36.48x 99.23	1,700		2,427	
	She-an-tang(Earth)	36.23x102.53	25		28	
				1,725		2,455
	GRAND TOTAL			91,165		69,331

TABLE XI. Distribution of Gypsum Deposits of Northwest China by Province

Province	Field of Deposit	Location
Shensi	Lin-tung	34.24x109.13
Chinghai	Hsining	36.37x101.46
Kansu	Ha-chia-tsun, Yung-teng	36.37x103.33
Sinkiang	Wen-su	41.15x79.55
	Kuche	41.43x82.54
	Pai-cheng	41.46x81.52

TABLE XII. Population Increase of the Various Regions

Major Regions	No. Places Surveyed	No. Farm Families invest'd.	Birth Rate*	Death Rate*	Natural Increase
Northwest	14	5,648	35.0	22.0	11.5
North China	26	10,816	40.2	26.6	13.6
Lower Yangtze	21	9,849	38.5	28.3	10.1
Southwest	20	5,343	46.2	35.6	10.6
Southeast	12	4,540	37.7	31.2	6.5
	93	36,196	39.3	28.2	11.1

*per 1,000

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang All

S2
.635
I61
I62

TABLE XIII. Population Increase of the Northwestern Provinces.

Province	Population (1946 Nanking Govt.)	Population (1953 C.P. Census)	Differential Increase
Shensi	9,956,055	15,881,281	5,925,226
Kansu	6,528,726)		
Ninghsia	721,518)	12,928,102	5,677,858
Chinghai	1,384,956	1,676,534	291,578
Sinkiang	3,730,051	4,873,608	1,143,557
	22,321,306	35,359,525	13,038,219

TABLE XIV. Distribution of Population by Provinces, and Their Average Densities

Province	Population (1953 census)	Area in sq. mi.	Density
Shensi	15,881,281	72,618	219
Kansu (incl. Ninghsia)	12,928,102	241,183	54
Chinghai	1,676,534	257,553	7
Sinkiang	4,873,608	660,805	7
TOTAL	35,359,525	1,232,159	28.6

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang All

1: Washington S-[illegible] (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang All

S
633
162
635

TABLE XV. Distribution of the Urban Centers

Province	Cities	Approx. Population	General Remarks
Shensi	Sian	560,000 (1951)	Administrative & Industrial Center
	Nan-cheng(Han-cheng)	50,000 (1951)	Commercial
	T'ung-kuan	10,000 (1951)	Strategic
Kansu	Lan-chow (Kao-lan)	150,000 (1951)	Adm. & Trade Center
	Yin-chuan (Ninghsia)	80,000 (1951)	Capital of former Ninghsia Province
	Hsia-ho (Labrang)	5,000	Lamasery; religious center
Chinghai	Hsi-ning	50,000 (1951)	Admin. & Trade Center
Sinkiang	Urumchi (Tihua)	80,000 (1951)	Capital, strategic, com'l. & industrial center
	Chitai (Ku-cheng-tze)	30,000 (1931)	Wool Trade center
	Kuldja (I-ning)	30,000 (1931)	Com'l. center, built by Chinese 1762
	Turfan	100,000 (1931)	Com'l. center
	Kashgar (Shu-fu)	80,000	Industrial & com'l. center.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

(1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
(2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
(3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
(4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks)	3,600,000 people
2) Kazakhs	300,000 "
3) Kirghiz	70,000 "
4) Taranchi	43,000 "
5) Uzbeks	8,000 "
6) Tatars	5,000 "
	3,426,000

It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

1) Chinese	about 210,000 people
2) Dungans	about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350)

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

1) Ölöts	15,000 people
2) Torguts	18,000 "
3) Khoshuts	21,000 "
4) Chahar	8,000 "

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13 Sinkiang All

951.2
S625

Table 5
Primary Education in the Northwest in 1945

Province	Complete primary schools	Proportion to Hsiang and Chen	Junior primary schools	Proportion to pao	Total schools	Students Children	Students Adult
Shensi	1,137	1.2 school to 1 Hsiang or Chen	12,591	1.77 school to 1 pao	13,979*	852,237	512,519
Kansu	821		6,551	2 schools for 3 pao	7,372	398,260	173,133
Ninghsia	86	3 schools for 5 Hsiang or Chen	357	2 schools for 5 pao	443	36,509	16,754
Chinghai	195	.83 school for 1 Hsiang or Chen	752	.78 school for 1 pao	947	51,535	33,112
Sinkiang	201	1 school for 6 Hsiang or Chen**	677	1 school for 4 pao**	2,694**	298,600	45,500

* Including provincial, private and other schools.
** Including 1,515 private schools.
(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

Table 6

SN
635
873
874

Secondary Education in the Northwest in 1946

Province	Schools: Middle	Normal	Vocational	Total
Shensi	143	65	29	237
Kansu	160	25	14	199
Chinghai	4	10	2	16
Ninghsia	5	6	2	13
Sinkiang	8	11	4	23

(Ministry of Education: The Second Educational Year Book, 1948.)

N
795 ance toward the Moslems may be as follows:
* 668 1. The strong cohesiveness of the Moslems in China. Unlike
177 the followers of other faiths, such as Buddhism and Taoism, who were scattered and disorganized, the Moslems in China and in the border regions are strongly organized and, at times, have presented a united front toward their enemies. This was one of the first lessons learned by the Chinese Communists. For example, early in 1949 when the People's Liberation Army, on entering Peking, wanted to occupy one of the mosques, a crowd of Moslems immediately gathered at the entrance of the mosque, voicing belligerently their determination to defend it. It was only upon the intervention of the Commission of Nationality Affairs that the PLA agreed to drop its demands.

In view of the predominance of the Moslem population in the
N Northwest, especially in Sinkiang which is far from the locus of
795 Chinese Communist power and where Soviet influence was
* 668 strong, the Chinese Communists were obliged to adopt a conci-
177 liatory, go-slow policy in order to bring the Moslems in line.

S 2. Instead of outright persecution, the Chinese Communists,
795 recognizing the traditional deference of the Moslems to their
668 leaders and their attachment to organizations, sought to control
177 them by winning over their leaders and dominating them indirectly through the agency of mass organizations. Of these mass organizations, two were especially designed for the control of the Moslem peoples as a religious faction: the China Islamic Association and the China Hui Cultural Association, both established in May 1953, and both predominantly staffed by Chinese Moslems (Hui or Dungans) instead of Moslems of other races.

S The chairman of the China Islamic Association is Burkhan,
• [635] governor of Sinkiang (now chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region), who is apparently a figurehead. In the executive committee of the China Islamic Association, thirty-one of the forty members are Chinese Moslems and only four including Burkhan are Uighur. The China Hui Cultural Association, headed by Liu Ko-p'ing, is almost exclusively a Chinese Moslem organization.

The purpose of the China Islamic Association, stated Burkhan in a speech in October, 1952, was to assist the government to implement the policy of religious freedom and to include the representative figures of Moslem faith throughout the country. The vice chairmen of the association, Liu Ko-p'ing, Shaikh Nur Mohammad Ta Pu-sheng, Yussuf Ma Yü-huai, Ma Chien and Saifuddin, are all loyal Communist followers. In their speeches at the preparatory meeting of the association, July 27-31, 1952, Chang Hsi-jo, vice chairman of the Financial-Economic Commission of the GAC, and Ulanfu, vice chairman of the National-

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
China AF1

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

I. The Historical Background

When the Communists conquered Northwest China, they created a Northwestern administrative area, which included the five provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. In 1954, the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia Province and put it under the jurisdiction of Kansu. In 1955 it changed Sinkiang Province into the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. So now, Northwest China includes three provinces, namely, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and one autonomous region, Sinkiang.

Historically speaking, Shensi and Kansu were under one governor-general during the Manchu Dynasty. For many purposes, such as provincial examinations, the two provinces were handled as a unit. At that time, part of Chinghai and Ninghsia were considered to belong to Kansu. While most of Sinkiang was administered under a special military government system, its eastern strip, from Tihua (Urumchi) to Hami, was under the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Shen-Kan. When Sinkiang later was made a province, it absorbed all the territory west of Hami.

Under the Nationalist Government, the Kokonor area was separated from Kansu. It became the nucleus of the Province of Chinghai, which was established in 1928. During the same year the Nationalist Government also established Ninghsia Province by uniting the northern counties of Kansu along the Yellow River with the two Mongolian Banners, Alashan and Edsin. Thus, when the Communist Government abolished Ninghsia as a province by combining it with Kansu, it merely reestablished part of the old border line.

During most of the Manchu Dynasty, Sinkiang was a special area. The local people retained a high degree of self-government. Even after the area was established as a province, the Chinese government let the local leaders handle most of the business of their own people. Thus, the establishment of an autonomous region in Sinkiang also had a historical basis.

II. The Constitutional Systems

A. Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic

In October of 1927, Mao Tse-tung retreated to the border area of Hunan and Kiangsi. There he established the "Hunan-Kiangsi Border Region Worker-Peasant Government". This was the beginning of the Chinese Soviet Government. After the Communists had consolidated their position, they established a "Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic". This was a Communist constitution for a Communist government. After suffering severe losses from Nationalist attacks, the Chinese Communists were no longer able

N
*668 offices were usually members of the Provincial Council. The
635 people in the Council also ran the administrative organs; under the Communists, however, most of the members of the People's Councils have no part in the bureaus and offices where real power lies.

(3) Under the Nationalists, the chairman of the Provincial Council had effective control. Under the Communists the chairman of the provincial People's Government in the past, or the governor of the provincial People's Council at present, may or may not have control. For instance, the chairman of Kansu in 1950, Tent Pao-san, was merely a figurehead, and the newly-elected governor of Shensi, Chao Shou-shan, looks like another. But Ma Ming-fan, chairman of Shensi in 1950, definitely held power. In brief, the influence and power of a local official under the Communists does not depend on his official position in the government, but on his relations with the party. Ma Ming-fang was important because he was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Northwest Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party.

(4) Under the Nationalists, when a minority leader such as Ma Hung-k'uei was appointed provincial chairman in the Northwest, he had authority in fact as well as in name. The Communists publicize the northwest local government members who belong to minority groups, but in practice what matters is the assignment given to the member by the Party. If a trusted party member - be he Chinese or Muslim - is assigned to run the office he is the actual head, even if he has a low rank. However, he is only a wheel in the party machinery, and has very little freedom to act on his own.

N
[631] (5) Under the Communists, the local governments at every level are much larger and more powerful than under the Nationalists. See Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the structure and personnel of the provincial governments in Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Sinkiang in 1950, and Table 6 for the relationships between local governments in the present stage.

N
*668 The specific structure of each provincial government in
635 Northwest China and of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region,
S as of 1955, is not yet available. Except for the abolition of the
668 Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the Committee
• 635 on Cultural and Educational Affairs, one may assume that the present structure of these provinces and of the Sinkiang Uughur Autonomous Region are approximately the same as in 1950.

N
*668 Sian was a municipality directly under the central government
633 authority from late in 1949 until 1954. The people's government of the city had thirteen different bureaus and offices, and the area was divided into twelve districts. In 1950, the mayor was Chia T'o-fu and the deputy mayors were Fang Chung-ju and Chang Feng-po. In 1952 the mayor was Fang, with Chang Feng-po and

*668
.635
G47

TABLE V

SINKIANG PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
Chairman: Burhan [Uighur]
Vice-Chairmen: Kao Chin-ch'un
Saifudin [Uighur]
Members: 30 (only 28 appointed: 12 Chinese, 7 Uighurs, 2 Kazakhs, 1 Uzbek, 1 Tatar, 1 Moslem, 1 Kirghis, 3 unidentified
Secretary-general: Liu Meng-ch'un
Vice-secretary-general: A-pu-tu-la-tsa-k'o-erh
Ni Tien-te

BUREAU OF CIVIL AFFAIRS
Commissioner: A-pu-tu-je-ho-man-mu-hei-t'i
Vice-commissioner: Kao Wen-t'ien

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SAFETY
Commissioner: A-pu-lieh-ttu
Vice-commissioners: Liu Hu-p'ing
Shu Chih-t'ung

COMMISSION ON NATIONALITIES AFFAIRS
Chairman: Saifudin
Members: 19 (18 men and 1 woman)

COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
Director: Wang Cheng
Deputy director: Hsin Lan-t'ing
Members: 13

OFFICE OF PLANNING
Director: P'u-la-t'e

BUREAU OF FINANCE
Commissioner: Hsin Lan-t'ing
Vice-commissioner: Hu Sai-ying

BUREAU OF COMMERCE
Commissioner: Kao Chin-ch'un
Vice-commissioner: Liu Tzu-mou

BUREAU OF COMMUNICATION
Commissioner: Mai-pa-su-a-t'i-hung
2nd commissioner: Mai-mai-t'i-ai-sha
Vice-commissioner: Ma-chi-t'i

BUREAU OF INDUSTRY AND MINING
Commissioner: K'a-yu-mu-po-k'e-ho-chia
Vice-commissioner: K'o-ma-li-ting

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
Commissioner: T'u Chih
Vice-commissioner: Seu-wu-yi-le

BUREAU OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY
Commissioner: Ta-hsia-p'u
Vice-commissioner: Ai-mi-wa-erh

BANK
President: Chang Ting-fan

TRADING COMPANY
Manager: Liu Tzu-mo
Vice-managers: Che K'ai
Wang P'u
Ko-ma-li-ting

COMMITTEE ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS
Director: Teng Li-ch'un
Deputy directors: I-pu-la-yin
Ai-ni-wa-erh-pa-pa
Yu Wen

BUREAU OF EDUCATION
Commissioner: Ai-ni-wa-erh-pa-pa
Vice-commissioner: Ma Wen

BUREAU OF WATER CONSERVANCY
Commissioner: A-ji-mu-chiang
Vice-commissioner: Wang Ho-t'ing

OFFICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH
Head: Ta-ho-p'u-po-k'o
Deputy head: P'an Shih-cheng

SINKIANG PROVINCE PEOPLE'S COURT
President: Burhan
Vice-president: T'o-fu

following page 474 (d)

Ch'en Shih-yü deputy mayors. All were appointed by the central People's Government. After the abolition of the administrative region in 1954, the Communist Government made these major changes in Northwest China:

(1) Sian was changed from a municipality under central authority to a municipality under the authority of Shensi province.

(2) Ninghsia was made part of Kansu on September 27, 1954.

(3) Sinkiang province was made the Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region on October 1, 1955.

Thus, in 1955 the administrative units of Northwest China were quite different from those of 1950. The units under Shensi, Kansu, and Chinghai are summarized in Table 7. The units under Sinkiang in early 1955 are shown in Table 8, while those after October 1, 1955, are shown in Table 9.

After the promulgation of the Chinese Communist constitution in 1954, elections were held and People's Congresses and People's Councils were organized. There were some personnel changes, but the general structure and control of the government remained about the same.

III. Government of the Autonomous Districts

A. Earlier Systems

In the past, although the Chinese government gave little publicity to them, autonomous governments existed among the minorities in Northwest China. As late as the 1880's, when the proposal to transform Sinkiang into a regular province was presented to the Court, it met with strong opposition on the grounds that the minorities who differed from the Chinese in tradition, language, religion, and customs would be difficult to govern. Before then, the minorities had been governed by their own leaders. Even after the area became a province, the life of the minorities was not greatly disturbed.

B. The Communist System

The Communists have a definite program for changing the social and economic order. Knowing that cooperation is necessary to attain their aims, the Communists intend to lessen the friction between racial groups under their regime. On the surface, they grant autonomous governments to the minorities; in fact, they control them from within through hand-picked Party members. So far there is no evidence to show that the structure of these autonomous local governments is essentially different from that of the regular local governments. The government of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, as well as of the local governments under it, superficially is the same as under the former Sinkiang province. A complete list of all autonomous districts in Northwest China,

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

TABLE 8

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province early in 1955:

631
635
668

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang province	Urumchi	4 municipalities 1 branch office 10 special districts 4 autonomous chou (special districts); under these and the regular special districts, there are altogether 75 counties and 4 autonomous areas at the county level

TABLE 9

Administrative Units in Sinkiang Province since October 1, 1955:

NAME	CAPITAL	ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS
Sinkiang Uighur autonomous region	Urumchi	4 municipalities 7 special districts 5 autonomous chou (special districts) with a total, under these and the regular special districts, of 74 counties and 6 autonomous hsien[1]

[1] The three special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak), and Altai were combined to make the Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili. On February 5, 1955, all the self-governing special districts were renamed "autonomous chou" and the self-governing counties were renamed "autonomous hsien."

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

TABLE 10

Autonomous Administrative Units at or above the County Level:

668
631
634
563
• [635]

NAME	DESCRIPTION
SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS REGION	Same as the former Sinkiang province
Kazakh autonomous chou of Ili	The three former special districts of Ili, T'a-ch'eng, and Altai (Chuguchak)
Mongol autonomous chou of Pa-yin-ko-leng (Bayankara)	Including the two counties of Ho-shuo and Ho-ching, and the Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i
Kirghiz (Kolkoz) autonomous chou of K'e-tzu-le-su (Koslesu)	Including the three counties of A-ho-ch'i, U-ch'a, and A-t'u-shih, and the Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh
Moslem autonomous chou of Ch'ang-chi (Changki)	Including the three counties of Urumchi, Mi-ch'üan, and Ch'ang-chi
Mongol autonomous chou of Po-erh-t'a-la (Borotala)	Including the three counties of Wen-ch'üan, Chingho, and Po-lo
Sibe (Sibo) autonomous hsien of Ch'a-pu-cha-erh (Chapchal)	In the Ili area
Mongol autonomous hsien of Ho-pu-k'e-sai-erh (Hobukozel)	In the T'a-ch'eng (Chuguchak) area
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Pa-li-k'un (Balikun)	The former county of Ch'eng-hsi
Moslem autonomous hsien of Yen-ch'i (Yenki)	The former county of Yen-ch'i
Kazakh autonomous hsien of Mu-lui	The former county of Mu-lui-ho
Tajik autonomous hsien of T'a-shih-k'u-erh (Tash Qurghan)	An area comprising the former counties of P'u-li, Wu-shih, Ying-chi-sha, and Su-fu

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1

POLITICAL DYNAMICS

I. Historical Background

Political life in China's Northwest, a region which in area comprises one-third of China but with a population that comes to less than six per cent of China's population, is complicated by the dissimilitudes of the geographical components and diversity of its population. Joined by the narrow neck of Kansu province, it is virtually two widely divergent regions. Historically, the problem and basic cause of conflict have been the attempts of the eastern or Chinese end of the vast region to dominate the western or non-Chinese end, and the resistance and struggle for autonomy of the non-Chinese peoples in the west against the domination of the Chinese in the east.

East of the narrow passage of Kansu is Shensi and southern Kansu, a region densely populated by Chinese, forming an integral part of China and subject to all the political vicissitudes of China. This region was the base of strong dynasties in the past not only for the conquest of China but also for the extension of power to the west. The Chinese Communists, who had a nucleus in this region since 1931, considerably expanded their control since 1935 when they established their Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region with headquarters at Yenan. From 1935 to 1947 this region was the center of the Communist revolution, and the laboratory of Communist experiments in government and in the mobilization of the people. After 1949, when the Communists moved their capital to Peiping, the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region became one of their many "old liberation areas," and their base for their domination of the Northwest. The headquarters of the Northwest Military and Administrative Council (later the Northwest Administrative Council) as well as the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP were located at Sian.

Westward, beyond the Kansu Corridor is Sinkiang, a huge dominion which, in accessibility and in economic ties is more closely oriented to Soviet Central Asia than to China. During the past century, the province had been the amphitheater for a three-way tug-o'war among China, Russia and Britain, and for a time in the 1930's, this was further complicated by the machinations of the Japanese. The conglomeration of the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, three-quarters of whom are Uighurs, a Moslem Turkic people, are split along racial, regional, religious, cultural and political lines and disunited by historical and traditional antipathy, present wide differences of interests and aspiration. Even in their opposition to Chinese domination and in their striving for self-rule, which they share in common, they rarely presented a united front. The history of the Northwest is thus a prolix story of attempts of the Chinese to assert their political dominance and the

attempts of the native peoples to throw off the Chinese yoke and to set up their own government, a story of intrigue and bloodshed, set against the backdrop of international rivalry.

In the past thirty years, superimposed on the political and international complex of Sinkiang were the new ideas that have added fuel to the discords and discontent in Sinkiang. Generally, the more important of the new ideologies injected into the political life of Sinkiang were the following:

1. Policy of assimilation, generally denounced by its enemies as the Great Hanism (Ta-Han chu-i), in which the border peoples were regarded as descendants of an ancient Great Chinese race and should be reabsorbed into the Chinese race. This concept was pushed by the Kuomintang extremists.
2. Program of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy. This idea was pushed by men such as Sheng Shih-ts'ai and Chang Chih-chung, as an alternative to the policy of compulsory assimilation.
3. Pan-Turkestanism and Pan-Islamism, promoted by the native people, especially by the Uighurs and their Kazakh allies, stressed the fact that the majority of people of Sinkiang speak Turkic language and belong to the Moslem faith. The exponents of this concept belong to many shades of political opinion, from the moderates such as Maksud Sabri, Burkhan Shahidi, and Mehmet Emin Bughra, to the more radical faction which included Akhmejan Kasimi, Saifuddin Azizi, and the members of the Kulja coalition.
4. Territorial and cultural autonomy under the principle of federalism based on ideas derived from the Soviet policy towards the minority nationalities. This policy was actively propagandized by the Chinese Communists and served to inflame the native peoples as well as to embarrass the Nationalist authorities.

These divergent views, in substance, were the expressions of nationalism on the part of the Chinese and on the part of the native peoples of Chinese Turkestan, especially among the educated classes. As in many other parts of the Orient, the game of politics was not a popular one. The people, downtrodden and persecuted, desired only to be left alone, and they rose in revolt only when tyranny and injustice became intolerable, and they would then follow the cue of their leaders in wholesale uprisings. In the wars of the Oirats against the Ch'ing government two hundred years ago, the leaders were the tribal chieftains; and in the rebellion of the Khojas and the Dungan rebellion in the last century, the leaders were religious prelates. But in republican times, there were few of the hereditary tribal princes or religious leaders taking a part. Instead, the leaders were drawn from the ranks of the bandits, officers in the Chinese army, or young intellectuals who had studied in China or abroad. On the part of the Chinese, the men in political life in the Northwest were either local civil and military officials, or officials sent out by the central government.

N
*668 Even with the advent of the Chinese Communists, there was
554 little fundamental change in the composition of the panel of men
S in the political arena of the Northwest. The men who acquiesced
668 to the Communists and were retained in office as well as those who
554 opposed the Communists were the same men who had been in the political limelight in the past. Some of the men sent out by the Communist Central People's Government were the same men who had been sent out in the past by the Nationalists. The names of local Communist officials appeared to be new, but actually many of them had been in the Northwest for a long time, working in the underground. The old and the new, the local and the Peking-appointed, were all worked into the Administrative Council of the
S Northwest and the provincial governments. The general election
N of 1954 resulted in a reshuffle of the political figures of the North-
[666] west, but not in a basic change in the composition.

N The situation in the northwestern provinces was in a state of
*668 flux in 1949 prior to the actual occupation by the Chinese Commun-
*175 ists who were then in the process of conquering all of mainland
669 China. In May, Sian was occupied by Chinese Communist troops,
S who were posed for their westward advance to gain control of Ning-
668 hsia, Chinghai (both of which soon fell to Communist arms), and
669 Sinkiang.
175

S Out in the west, Sinkiang was divided into two political regimes:
669 the adherents of the provincial government and the insurrectionists
175 in Ili. At Urumchi was the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist
631 Army, under the command of T'ao Chih-yüeh, and the provincial
• 635 government headed by Burkhan Shahidi, a Russianized Uighur, who
554 was then middle-of-the-road in politics and who represented the large Uighur population. With him was Mehmet Emin Bughra, who had played a part in the establishment of the East Turkestan Republic of 1933 (at Kashgar) as well as in the East Turkestan Republic of 1944 (at Kulja in Ili). Politically, they cooperated with the Nationalist Government and they sought only a modicum of liberties, such as the establishment of a government of their own choosing and the preservation of their languages, culture and traditions. They were thus a less militantly revolutionary group than the Ili faction. In September, 1949, with the defeat of the Nationalists on the mainland, with the Chinese Communist Army preparing to march into Sinkiang, and with the persuasion of such men as Chang Chih-shung, the provincial government under Burkhan and the Nationalist forces under T'ao Chih-yüeh formally submitted to the Communists.

The revolutionary movement centered around Kulja was, since 1948, quiescent, rendered impotent by internal dissensions and the defection of some of its leaders, including Osman Batur. To recoup their fortunes, Akhmejan Kasimi and his lieutenant, Saifuddin, organized the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace

669 and Democracy and began to make overtures to the Chinese Com-
175 munists. In September, 1949, Akhmejan Kasimi was killed in a
631 plane crash en route to attend the Chinese People's Political Con-
635 sultative Conference convened by the Chinese Communists.
554 Saifuddin, who was already friendly to the Communists and who may have been an undercover Communist agent, became the head of the Sinkiang League, bringing it formally into the Communist fold and using it to assist the Communist takeover of northern Sinkiang.

175 Even with the submission of civil and military dignitaries of
631 both factions, the situation in Sinkiang was delicate, due to the
635 strong growth of Soviet Russian influence in the political vacuum
648 following the withdrawal of Nationalist power. Actual authority
669 rested in the hands of the Soviet consul-general at Urumchi, the Soviet consul at Kulja, and the secretary-general of the Turkestan branch of the Communist Party. The district of Ili was reported to be wholly Russianized, and by April, 1949, according to Urumchi police records, 6,200 natives changed their nationality to become Soviet citizens. (Mehmet Emin Bughra, Doghr Turkestan, (Eastern Turkestan), pp. 83-4, and interview with Isa Yussuf Aliptakin, in NYT, March 23, 1951). The Chinese Communists were obliged to proceed with caution in their advance on and occupation of Sinkiang.

II. United Front Work, 1. Political Leaders and Factions

175 The fact that the provincial leaders of the Northwest peacefully
668 submitted to the Chinese Communists, bringing the areas under
669 their control along with them and thus sparing the Communists of the effort and cost of a military campaign, posed for the Communist leaders acute problems of absorption and disposition of the local officials. As a reward for their defection to the Communist cause, even though it was, for some of them, at the eleventh hour, they had to be retained in office. However, it was also necessary to reward the Communist officials, who had been working in the underground, as well as the officers of the Communist army, and at the same time, it was necessary to establish control by the Communists over the local functionaries.

175 The Communists, long anticipating this problem, had a ready-
668 made solution. This was the United Front, when applied to everyone in general, and the "democratic coalition" when applied to different factions working together for the Communist government.

"The aims of the Chinese People's Central Government vis-a-vis the Northwest," stated Wang Chen (commander of the Communist forces which entered Sinkiang and concurrently secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP), were "first, to establish people's provincial governments made up of democratic coalition of all nationalities; second, to enlist progressive elements of all nation-

S
175 alities and classes to participate in the governments; and third,
668 to establish people's democratic United Front of democratic nationalities under the leadership of the people's provincial governments and various branches of the CCP committees." (JMJP Oct. 1, 1950).

In response, the people's council of Sinkiang passed a resolution urging the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship based on a union of all democratic classes and all nationalities, built around the alliance of workers and farmers. This was to be achieved by the establishment and consolidation of the united front, by the annihilation of reactionary elements, by the re-education and reform of former government functionaries and by the absorption of progressive elements into the government.

The extent to which the Chinese Communists succeeded in implementing their policy of a United Front in Northwest China may be seen in (1), the alignment of the top ranking officials and the parties, (2) the mobilization of the people, and (3) the building of an army of trained men - the cadres - to serve as instruments of Communist policy.

N
*175 A. Top Echelon Officials

*668 The men in power in the northwestern provinces at the time
554 of the Communist takeover belonged to an assortment of political
635 factions and held to a hodge-podge of views and interests. There were the Communists, many of whom had held official positions
S in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, who were immedi-
175 ately summoned to take charge. There were the members of the
668 Democratic League, which had thrown in their lot with the Com-
554 munists and which maintained branch offices in Sian and Lanchou.
635 The Nationalist officials in China Proper who defected formed themselves into the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and they were joined by the Nationalist officials in the Northwest. Among the national minorities, there were those who held responsible positions under the Nationalists and who, as prominent men among the national minorities, were carefully preserved by the Communists. Another group of native leaders who rose to power were the former participants of the Ili revolt.

The administrative structure formed from these varied political groups was a cunning piece of assembly. The non-Communist figures had to be given conspicuous display in order to give the impression of a coalition government, but their line had to be stiffened by Communist officials so that it would answer to the dictates of Peking. Each of the top-ranking officials held three or more concurrent positions in one or more places.
Political: in the Central People's Government, in the regional Military and Administrative Council (later the Administrative Council), in the provincial or the municipal governments.

N Military: In the People's Revolutionary Military Council, the
*175 Northwest Military District, or the provincial sub-districts.
*668 Party: In the Central Committee of the CCP, in the Northwest
554 Bureau of the Central Committee and the Sinkiang Sub-bureau, and
635 in the provincial committees.
S Mass organizations: In the national committee and in regional
175 committees.
668 The positions held were either vertical, from Peking down to
554 the provincial level, or horizontal, in more than one collateral
• 635 agencies. The system of interlocking political positions may be seen in the cases of the following men, chosen at random as illustrations. The positions they held were as of 1952:

Hsi Chung-hsün: In Peking, he was a member of the Government Administration Council, member of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, and a member of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. In the Northwest, he was vice-chairman of the Military Administrative Council, director of the Commission of Land Reform, deputy director of the Commission on Culture and Education, and political commissar of the Northwest Military District. In the Party, he was an alternate member of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Northwest Bureau.

Ma Wen-jui is primarily concerned with party work. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, in which he is a member of the council, he was chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission and member of the Commission on Political and Legal Affairs. In the party, he was concurrently director of the Organization Department of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Committee on Women's Work.

S Saifuddin Azizi, chairman of the Sinkiang People's Democratic
175 League, was also a member of the Northwest Military and Admin-
668 istrative Council and a member of its Political and Legal Commis-
554 sion and its Nationality Affairs Commission, which have offices in
635 Sian. In Sinkiang he was vice-chairman of the Provincial People's Government and fourth secretary of the Sinkiang Sub-bureau of the CCP. In Peking, he was a member of the Central Peoples Government Council, a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Nationality Affairs Commission. He was also reportedly commander of the 5th Army in Sinkiang.

S Among the non-Communists, the men who had climbed the
N highest in the Communist hierarchy were the members of the
175 Democratic League. One of these was Han Chao-e who, in Peking,
554 was a member of the Central Committee of the Democratic League,
635 a member of the Central Committee of the China Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party, and a member of the People's Supervisory Commission in the Central People's Government. In the Northwest Military and Administrative Council, he was a member of the Political and Legal Commission and vice-chairman of the Land Reform Commission.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang A11

Table 3. CHINESE AND NON-CHINESE IN REGIONAL, PROVINCIAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

	total	Han Chinese	From the National Minorities	Unknown
Regional: Top level (in 1952)				
NW MAC	43	35	8	--
Provincial: Second level (in 1950)				
Shensi People's Government Council	39	37	2	-
Kansu " " "	29	21	8	-
Chinghai " " "	22	12	7	1
Sinkiang " " "	31	13	15	3
Total	121	85	32	4
(Total in 1951)	133	78	55	-)
County Magistrates: Third level (in 1951)				
Shensi:	Chinese, head of all municipalities and counties			
Kansu:	in the Linhsia Administrative District, 6 counties: 3 Chinese, 3 from the minority nationalities			
Chinghai and Ninghsia:	in 35 counties: 13 Chinese, 22 from the minority nationalities			
Sinkiang:	80 counties, 13 Chinese, 67 from the minority nationalities.			

N
*1755
**6685
6354
*5633
*1755
6685
6354
5633

N
*175 going to the polls, but in Chinghai where it was reported that 95
666 per cent of the people went to the polls, the election was only one-
*668 fourth completed.

In Sinkiang, the Communist authorities were more cautious.
S The experimental elections began in May, 1953, in 17 basic elec-
175 tion units (hsiang) selected from the ten administrative districts,
666 then in 36 basic election units. In these experimental elections,
668 80-95 per cent of the electorate turned out. With the successful conclusion of the experiments, the real basic level elections began in September in 665 basic level areas in Sinkiang, followed in December by the second group of 860 basic level area elections. By April, 1954, the basic level election in Sinkiang was concluded,
S having been held in 2,424 basic units in 83 counties and munici-
[369] palities. In urban areas, 89 per cent of the voters turned out, while in southern Sinkiang, the turnout by the Uighur population was 95 per cent. The elections during 1953 had been supervised by 1,127 cadres who formed 144 election courts and 98 mobile investigation teams, which uncovered 204 cases of irregularities and nonconformity.

The fruit of the efforts of the election cadres was the election of large numbers of cadres and party members. Sixty-three per cent of the 619 new party members employed in the Sinkiang provincial and Urumchi municipal governments were elected as delegates. In 312 hsiang in Sinkiang, out of the 7,088 of the delegates elected, 5,248 were Communist Party cadres, and the bulk were Chinese. In Ninghsia, only 25 per cent of the 9,700 deputies elected in the basic level elections were Chinese Moslems (Hui).

N Moreover, the elections in the Northwest, as in the rest of
*175 China, were by no means universal. Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-
666 p'ing, one of the top officials in charge of the nationwide elections,
*668 revealed that basic level elections were not held in a quarter of
641 the regions inhabited by national minorities, and the number of
*563 national minority people who were not given a chance to vote came to 8,708,169. The reason for defranchising these minority people, he said, was due to the "lack of requisite conditions," which were (1) the native cadres were unsatisfactory and (2) the people failed to appreciate the nationality policy of the government. (NCNA June 19, 1954).

N In contrast to the publicity given to the basic level elections
*175 in the Northwest, the elections in the higher levels were conducted
*668 quietly and, in many cases, the results were not published. How-
666 ever, from scattered information gleaned from the Communist
635 press, the following picture emerges: in Shensi, Kansu, and
S Sinkiang, the incumbent governors were re-elected. Only in
[175] Chinghai, was there a change in the governor. In these four pro-
[666] vinces, three of the governors are Chinese. In the three provinces
[668] of Shensi, Kansu and Chinghai, about half of the thirteen vice -
[635]

175 was re-established, economic penetration from Russia and
648 to a lesser degree from British India continued. In the treaty of 1881, Russia had established consulates at Kulja, Chuguchak, Kashgar, and Turfan. The treaty also stipulated that consulates should be established at Urumchi, Hami (Qomul), and Ch'i-t'ai, if the development of Russian trade warranted it. England arranged in 1884 for the stationing of a British trade agent at Kashgar.

In the following period the Chinese political position in Sinkiang was not threatened again by either Russia or England. Chinese control created, in effect, something of a buffer area for the conflicting expansionist interests of these two powers. Towards the turn of the century, attempts were made to delimit Russian and British areas of expansion in order to diminish chances of conflict. In 1895 the two powers agreed to delimit their respective areas of expansion in the Pamirs. In a decision of the Pamir Boundary Commission the two powers agreed to set aside a narrow corridor of Afghan territory which would extend from Afghanistan to the Chinese province of Sinkiang. This corridor would prevent a direct Russo-British-India frontier. The Anglo-Russian tensions came to a new height during the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05. When the war was over, Russian and England came to settle all their conflicting interests in the Triple Entente of 1907. By that time the neutralization of the central Asiatic area of possible conflict had already been recognized for so long that Turkestan was no longer mentioned in the agreement.

IV Policy of Yang Tseng-hsin

175 The Chinese position in Sinkiang entered into a new phase with
648 the Chinese Revolution of 1911. The Revolution changed the rela-
635 tionship between the province and the new types of central governments that succeeded each other in China. In imperial times the Chinese governors were a part of the imperial bureaucracy, and the court had been able to appoint and recall governors more or less at will. It had also given the provincial administration a yearly subsidy of over two and a half million taels (a tael equals about 1.28 U.S. dollars). With the revolution, the central control over the province was greatly weakened. No more subsidy was forthcoming from China and the governors had to base their power and position almost entirely on local support. Yang Tseng-hsin, the Chinese governor of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928 gained such support by giving the non-Chinese population groups greater economic autonomy. At the same time he maintained good relations with Russia by permitting Russian economic activities which had considerably increased since 1905. The Russo-Asiatic Bank had its branches at Urumchi, Kulja, Chuguchak, and Kashgar with the right to issue paper currency. These branches played a large role in the local trade.

175 7, 1944. This Kazakh uprising occurred in the three border
648 districts of Ili, Chuguchak (Tacheng), and Ashan (Altai) and
669 resulted in the establishment of an "East Turkestan Republic."
These districts on the Soviet border were preponderantly Kazakh in population and comprised almost one-sixth of the population of the province. They are rich in oil, coal, iron, tungsten, gold, lead, and reportedly also in uranium; they also have rich agricultural soil. The revolt was in the hands of experienced Kazakh leaders who had been in practical control of much of the area since their earlier uprising in 1940. When they had attempted in 1943 to declare their independence, they had been forced to abandon this plan by the threat of military action from the Soviet troops that were guarding the closed mines in the area. But by 1944 the Soviets were willing to support them. Their uprising resulted in fighting in the Ili valley for over a month until the Chinese provincial troops gave up the city of Kulja which remained under the control of Kazakh insurgents. From Kulja the rebel forces moved north to extend their control over the Chuguchak region and then captured the town of Manass close to Urumchi. The rebellion also spread to some cities of southern Turkestan. When attempts to suppress the rebellion by military forces failed, the Chinese National Government, which by this time was reasserting its authority over Sinkiang, sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang in September 1945 to negotiate with the rebels. These negotiations were handled through the mediation of the Soviet Consul-General in Urumchi. After many meetings between October 1945 and June 1946, the negotiations resulted in three agreements signed by General Chang and three Kulja delegates. The agreements resulted in the abolition of the "East Turkestan Republic" and of its local flag but they practically secured autonomy
[635] for the rebellious districts and troops. They also resulted in the reorganization of the provincial government. The new governor,
[563] Chang Chih-chung had two vice-governors as his assistants, one an Uighur, the other a Tatar. The appointment of representatives of the nationalities to such positions was an attempt to pacify the revolt of the nationalities against Chinese rule. Governor Chang did not, however, regain any control over the autonomous group which continued to rule the vital border districts of Sinkiang under the leadership of Akmedjan, Burkhan, Isakh Beg, and Saifuddin. The national government troops under Governor Chang did not control the area west of Urumchi and the products of this region, including the oil, coal, and mineral products, went to the Soviet
175 side. From 1943 on the Soviet resumed the working of the tung-
648 sten mines and since 1945 the Soviets have reportedly obtained
[135] diamonds, gold, bismuth, and uranium from this area. An attempt by the Chinese government to end this secret exploitation of

175 a change of the provincial administration came to nothing because
648 of the rapid disintegration and collapse of the National Government
in 1949. The Sinkiang Provincial Government had a formal decla-
• [635] ration of adherence to the new Communist regime in Peking in
[668] September 1949.

IX. Sinkiang Under the Chinese Communists

175
648
669
668 After the victory of the Chinese Communists, both Soviet and Chinese policy changed in its attitude toward the Sinkiang Nationalists. While they had been supported and equipped with Soviet arms against the Chinese provincial administration under the National Government, they were now suppressed by the Chinese Communists with Russian help. Soviet troops which were greatly increased and have been estimated as consisting of about 50,000 men during this time were instrumental in defeating the independent forces of Osman Batur who was captured and executed in April 1951 at Urumchi, together with over 13,000 of his followers. The key Nationalist leaders of the Ili area who had been formerly supported by Soviet Russia were eliminated in another way. While on their way to Peking to participate in the opening of the Communist People's Political Consultative Conference, Akmedjan, Isakh Beg, and several other leading figures were killed in an airplane crash on August 29, 1949. The leaders who remained behind, Burkhan and
175 Saifuddin, were willing to work with the Chinese Communists
668 and Soviet Russia along a new line of policy which condemned the
[648] former nationalism and re-interpreted the previous fight in an anti-Kuomintang line. The new leaders were willing to admit former "mistakes: in their nationality policy which had not made a clear distinction between opposition to "rapacious Kuomintang officials, plundering Kuomintang troops, and the oppressive Kuomintang police," and hostility to the "entire Han race." This previous "narrow nationalism" was described as harmful and the aim was now to establish full unity between the formerly rebellious districts and the rest of the province. The Ili armed forces were dissolved and integrated into the Chinese Communist Army and a new policy was introduced of ridding the province of its "feudal oppression."

175 This new policy propagandized by both Burkahn and Saifuddin
668 aroused strong nationalist opposition. In 1951, a Kazakh revolt which
669 continued in the Ili area spread towards the east. The movement was attacked by Burhan as representing the "reactionary bourgeois class, such as pan-Turkestanists and pan-Islamists" who were trying to undermine the "solidarity among various races in the People's Republic of China." He stated that "what has been
[661] regarded as progressive at one time may become reactionary at another time," and ordered the liquidation of all "reactionaries,

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1

Maksud Sabri: (1887-)
Chinese name: Mai-ssu-wu-te

159 Among all the different tribes in modern Sinkiang, and particularly among the Uighurs, Maksud is one of the most loyal supporters of the Nationalist Government. He was born at I-ning in 1887. After he had received his Moslem education at the Moslem school in Ili, he went to Turkey where he received comprehensive training including military, medical and scientific studies, at the Constantinople University. When he came back to Sinkiang, he established a number of schools and the Altai hospital. In addition, he encouraged the program for the ahungs (Moslem priests) to study their scripture, and other social welfare. By 1936 he was elected a member of the Kuo-
[631] mintang Central Executive Committee. Since then he has held such positions as member of the Legislative Yüan, councillor of the Central Government, and representative to the People's Political Council. Later he was appointed Commissioner for the Control Yüan in Sinkiang. On May 19, 1947, he was appointed
● [635] governor of Sinkiang upon the recommendation of General Chang Chih-chung.

159 This appointment came at the most crucial time, when the
669 province was politically chaotic. The tribes of Sinkiang, partic-
635 ularly the Kazakhs and Uighurs, were agitating for indepen-
668 dence. By January 1945 the so-called Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formally set up in I-ning with the aim of taking over the whole of Sinkiang. At the same time, the Communist Party in Sinkiang was officially organized, and the army of the Republic of Eastern Turkestan was formed. By 1946, a number of cities in northern and western Sinkiang had been lost to the rebels. To cope with such a crisis, the Nationalist Government at Nanking sent General Chang Chih-chung to Sinkiang to negotiate with the I-ning representatives with the hope that the local affair could be settled peacefully. After a number of talks, a peace agreement was finally signed between Chang Chih-chung and the I-ning representatives on January 2, 1946. As a result of this peace agreement, the provincial government of Sinkiang was reorganized with an equal number of members from Uighurs and Chinese in the local government. The peace treaty did not, however, prevent the rebels from further disturbances. Anti-government movements were found everywhere in the province, whereas the so-called Eastern Turkestan Youth Corps was organized throughout the entire Sinkiang. Unable to tackle the situation, Chang finally recommended Maksud as governor of Sinkiang, hoping that, being a minority leader, he might be able to solve the problems.

Maksud took over the administration in May 1947, but the I-ning group continued its revolt. At the same time the Pei-t'a-

159 669 635 668 648 At the same time the Pei-t'a-shan (Bogdo Baitik) Affair broke out when Outer Mongolian invaders attacked Sinkiang. Meanwhile, the Communists began their revolution in southern Sinkiang. Realizing the hopelessness of the situation, Chang Chih-chung continued his retreat. First he removed the commander of the Nationalist forces in Sinkiang, General Sung, then dismissed Maksud as governor and in December 1948 recommended Burkhan, a pro-Russia Uighur, for governor of Sinkiang. With such a political shifting, the whole of Sinkiang was soon taken over by the Communists.

Just before the seizure of Sinkiang by the Chinese Communists, Maksud fled to Formosa where he new resides.

159 648 669 Osman Batur (Usman Batur): Native leader, anti-Communist

A Kazakh, background and early career unknown; 1940, opposed the arrest of Kazakh leaders by Sheng Shih-ts'ai; 1941, revolted in the Altai (A-shan) region and fought off the provincial troops; 1942, defeated; withdrew to the border of Outer Mongolia, arrested and jailed for four months in Outer Mongolia; released upon agreement reached with Outer Mongolian authorities. Organized the Altai Kazakh Restoration Society, organized army with arms and supplies from Outer Mongolia and reportedly from Soviet Russia; 1944, led revolt against the provincial government, captured the cities of Chunuchak (Ta-ch'eng) and Altai (A-shan); with establishment of the East Turkestan Republic at Kulja, Osman was made administrator of the Altai Region with headquarters at Sharasume (Ch'eng-hua) and also given command of the troops in the Altai region; 1948, broke with the leaders of the Ili group who, it was charged, were discriminating against the Kazakhs; led his force of six thousand men to join the Nationalist army; stationed at Peitashan (Bogdo Baitik). June 1948, his capture of eight Outer Mongolian soldiers who had crossed the broder precipitated Outer Mongolian forces' invasion of Peitashan. Invasion repelled by Osman Batur. 1949-51, led anti-Communist guerrillas against the Communists; March 1950, deputy commander of the East Sinkiang Region Headquarters of the Chinese People's Anti-Communist National Salvation Army; deputy commander of the First Front Army; July 1950, covered the withdrawal of the guerrilla forces into the Chinghai-Tibetan border and eventual flight to India; February 1951, ambushed and captured by Communist forces; April 1951, publicly executed at Urumchi by the Communists.

Osman Batur was the best military commander of the Ili insurrectionists and apparently a man who had the interests of his fellow Kazakhs at heart. He split with his colleagues such as Akhmejan Kasimi and Saifuddin, who were at that time making overtures toward the Chinese Communists and Soviet

N 159 S 669 648 suggested to the Manchu Government that Yakub Beg's realm be recognized as a protectorate state. But Tso Tsung-t'ang frustrated this attempt by defeating Yakub Beg and recovering the territory of southern Sinkiang. When the negotiations for the return of Ili were going on between China and Russia, Tso again moved his troops to Qomul (Hami) to prepare for any possible break of the negotiations and recover Ili by force if necessary. As a result, Ili was returned to China and the whole Sinkiang territory was preserved as a part of China.

N 159 S 635 Thirdly, he should be credited for his statesmanlike foresight for his proposal of making Sinkiang into a new province on an equal footing with the rest of the provinces. On this matter he had memorialized five times to the Ching Government, insisting that Sinkiang must be given the status of a province to defend the border of the Northwest. Although Sinkiang Province was finally established after the death of Tso, the credit must go to him.

N 159 Though his achievements in the Northwest were great, they were of a military nature. Politically and economically speaking Tso's achievements during his twelve long years in the Northwest were rather limited and insignificant. He was primarily a military man. Though he held positions as governor or governor general, his primary duty was involved in the pacification of bandits and uprisings. His importance in the history of modern Northwest China should not be minimized, however, but should be recognized and praised.

S 159 Veli Kajum-Khan: Anti-Communist political leader

Born in 1904 in Tashkent, a member of an old aristocratic Uzbek clan. 1921, went to Germany, graduated from the agricultural school of Berlin and from the school of foreign affairs of the Berlin University. 1926, sentenced to death in absentia by Soviet authorities in Samarkand; 1925-41, active in the publishing field, in politics and in the Turkistan liberation movement; until 1940, publisher of the newspaper "Der Nähe Osten," and an information bulletin on Turkistan. Since 1941, concerned with the work of looking after the welfare and expediting the liberation of Turkistanian prisoners of war in Germany; 1945, organized ex-prisoners into the nucleus of the National Turkistanian Union Committee (Turkish: Milli Turkistan Birlik Qomitasinin) located at Bonn am Rhein; head of the Committee; founder of the Turkistanian Legion; 1945-47, served as a witness at the International Trials at Nürnberg; 1947, re-elected head of the National Turkistanian Unity Committee; 1953, re-elected president of the Turkistanian refugee organization.

S 159 668 648

Veli Kajum-Khan, as founder and director of the Turkistanian Legion, has directed more than 180,000 Turkistanian exiles

N 159 631 **Yang Shen-chih: Local leader**

A native of Kansu Province, dates unknown. An influential local leader. From 1949, member of the Military and Administrative Council for the Northwest, member of its Land Reform Commission and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission; since 1953, member of the Northwest Administrative Council and vice-chairman of the People's Supervisory Commission.

S 159 **Yang Tseng-hsin (1860-1928): Former governor of Sinkiang**

Born in 1860 in Yunnan Province, holder of both the Chu-jen and Chin-shih degrees of the late Ch'ing Dynasty. In 1889, magistrate of Chung-wei district of Kansu, later promoted as the chou commissioner of Hochow, Kansu. He also commanded troops under Chen Sheng-ch'uan. In 1901, he joined the staff of Wei Kuang-t'ao, governor-general of Shensi and Kansu, and was appointed superintendent of the army school in Kansu. In 1908 he was given the position of circuit commissioner of Aksu Circuit, Sinkiang. In 1911 he was transferred to the Chenti Circuit and concurrently held the positions as prosecutor. In 1912 he was promoted to provincial treasurer of Sinkiang. When the newly appointed governor, Yuan Hung-yu, was murdered on his way to Urumchi (Tihua), Yang was appointed governor of Sinkiang. His title was changed several times, but his actual position remained as the political and military boss of Sinkiang from 1912 to 1928. When Yuan Shih-k'ai enthroned himself as the emperor of China in 1916, Yang was awarded an earldom of the first rank. In 1928, he pledged his support to the Nationalist Government in Nanking, and was appointed the provincial chairman of Sinkiang. He was assassinated in July, 1928.

S [493] [652] [635] S [554] [635]

S 159 635 In the history of modern Sinkiang, Yang Tseng-hsin was the only person who ruled Sinkiang for seventeen years. He was credited, during his administration, with restoring peace and prosperity to the province. During those seventeen years, he smashed the secret society, Ko-lao-hui (Elder Brother Society), defeated the invasion of Kobdo and Altai (A-shan) by the troops of Outer Mongolia in 1928, quelled the disturbances of the Kazakhs who fled into Sinkiang from Soviet rule in 1917, and pacified the defeated White Russian troops who also escaped into Sinkiang during the Soviet Revolution in 1917. Internally, he adopted the policy of racial equality among the different tribes within the border of Sinkiang. Diplomatically, he improved the trade relations with Russia and settled the border troubles. But, because of his autocratic and dictatorial attitude toward his subordinates, and his cruelty toward his opponents, he made enemies who brought about his assassination.

S [575] [648] S [563] [641] [648]